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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

REPORT NO.

# INFORMATION REPORT

CD NO.

COUNTRY China/Hong Kong

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DATE DISTR. 18 March 1949

**SUBJECT** Discussion of Political Consultative Conference  
as Recorded in Minutes of Meeting of Chinese  
Communists and Dissidents

NO. OF PAGES 14

PLACE 25X1A6a

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DATE OF INFO: 11/11/1964

SUPPLEMENT TO  
REPORT NO.

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The following is a translation of what is apparently a record of minutes of a meeting of Chinese Communist Party members and other dissident groups in Hong Kong. The topic under discussion is the formation of a new Political Consultative Conference (PCC) to be held at some future date. It appears likely that this meeting took place in August 1948, as, so far as is known, discussion concerning the PCC has not reached the point this document indicates until that time. The "X" which appears in this paper was written in the original in English and obviously refers to the Kuomintang. The document is reproduced in the form in which it was received in translation, and no attempt has been made to edit certain unintelligible passages.

## Record of Minutes at Meeting

KUO (郭), 695 Shanghai St., 1st fl., Lai Chi Kok (荔枝角).

Concrete problems concerning the Political Consultative Conference (PCC)  
discussed today:

1. Date of convention.
2. Place.
3. Conveners.
4. Representatives elected.
5. Particulars of the PCC.
6. Problems concerning the People's Representatives' General Meeting.

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Next Review Date: 2003

KUO Kuan-chieh (郭冠杰)

1. Date: It is not purely a problem concerning technique, since an early convention may bring about the collapse of X quickly, and delay may also affect it. A quick and sound convention is advisable. To be decided before end of year.
2. Place: Site of Conference should be at a place where China and areas abroad are easily reached and orders may be given; it should also be safe.
3. Participants: The participants should be anti-feudalists and anti-imperialists, besides anti-CHIANGs.

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4. Conveners: The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) should be the main body, and the conference should be under the leadership of the CCP in conjunction with other parties.

5. Problems concerning topics of the PCC: (a) Land Problem. (b) Platform of farmer and worker government.

6. It should not be convoked until the establishment of the people's government.

CH'IU Che (丘哲): (Note: Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee (KMTRC))\*

1. Reaction in Nanking and Shanghai will be great after the appeal made by the new PCC. It is better for the CCP to decide a date, as well as a place of conference.

2. Owing to the vast number of opportunists, representatives should be elected in a strict manner. Importance should be attached to history, work and Three-point Opposition.

3. Telegram reply from CCP.

LO Tzu-wei (羅子為) (Note: CDL Central Committee)

1. It may be convoked to counteract the bogus presidential election. However, we Hong Kong-ites cannot make a decision. The place should not be too far away and the date should not be too late.

2. It should be convoked in the liberated area, and it is better to convoke it in China proper rather than in Manchuria. The place should be decided according to conditions and convenience. It is hoped that the matter be put under the careful consideration of the CCP.

3. The CCP should assume more responsibility. It is a fact that the CCP is the main body. After discussions, various quarters agree that the CCP should assume more responsibility.

4. Election of representatives.

- (a) In favor of the Democratic grand objective.
- (b) Three kinds of elements. (Note: i.e. CCP, CDL, & KMTRC.)
- (c) Representatives should be social dignitaries who are representative - large number of representatives is not necessary. Reputation and position are of less importance.
- (d) They should include personages of liberated areas, areas abroad, and CHIANG-controlled areas and not only those who are superficially known.

5. Discussion:

- (a) Common national re-construction platform.
- (b) Situation and role of Democratic struggles.
- (c) Preparatory work of the People's Representatives' Congress.
- (d) Is drafted New Constitutional Law necessary?

6. Preparatory Committee of the People's Representatives' Congress.

- (a) In liberated areas, representatives shall be elected by the people directly.

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- (b) Democratic and Vocational organizations in CHIANG-controlled areas.
- (c) In ..... (illegible) areas, they shall be elected by the Democratic parties, but not by other parties there.
- (d) Among non-partisans a small part shall be elected by the Preparatory Committee. The role of the People Representatives' Council is to accomplish the establishment of the New Government. Nation-wide enlistment is expected. Under the Democratic Principles the larger the sphere, the more assistance is rendered to Democracy.

CH'EN Ch'i-yuan (陳其璦) (Note: Head of Ta Teh Institute)

1. Date and place should be decided by the CCP as opportunity affords. It is impossible for those overseas to decide. Some think the earlier the better. Some Democrats feel that LI (李) will ..... (illegible).

2. It doesn't matter if the CCP be the convener, but a couple of parties may be asked to jointly convene the sessions in their names. In fact the CCP should not decline it.

### 3. Representatives.

- (a) Importance is attached to quality, but not quantity of parties participating, and we shall associate with those who are pursuing the same objective.
- (b) There are fixed conditions of the May 1st appeal to Democrats - Three-point Opposition. It should be taken into consideration if anyone who is not in entire agreement with these three points. Among the Democrats there are different views towards the Land Problem. Some of them simply are not in agreement with Land Reform and the anti-American campaign, and agree only on the overthrow of CHIANG. These must not be allowed to participate in the PCC; otherwise we may repeat a disastrous blunder made in our history in 1927.

4. Is the PCC an inquiry organization? What is the role of the new PCC? We should make this clear first.

FENG Yu-fang (馮裕芳) (Note: CDL)

1. Quick convention is important. (New PCC is different from old PCC) Coalition government's position among those of other nations would be elevated after its formation. My view is similar to that of CH'IU Che. It is to be decided by the CCP -- the quicker the better.

2. My view towards the place is similar to that of CH'IU Che. However, attention should be paid to communication, safety and power of appeal. Should the place be in the Northeast, some might think that it has had an international background.

3. The nature and role of the PCC shall consist of struggle, the overthrow of K, and a common platform.

4. Election of representatives. Which organization should participate? Which should not be allowed to do so. Number of representatives.....?

TENG Chu-min (鄧初民) (Note: CCP? CDL?)~~SECRET/CONTROL~~ U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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1. Literature should be entitled: "New Year Day". Conference shall be convened according to conditions - military politics, technique, etc. Date and place cannot be decided unless the problem of convening technique is solved.
2. Common platform should be drafted and problem concerning the People's Representatives' Congress shall be solved at the PCC sessions. Conditions may be put forward by those inside and outside liberated areas.
3. The PCC shall be created in accordance with revolution, but not with law (sic). There is no question concerning CCP's convening the conference. However, the matter may be much discussed, so that the world and others will have nothing to say about it.
4. Two steps were taken by MAO (毛) as regards the Coalition Government (Interim Coalition Government and formal Coalition Government). The May 1st appeal is the first step. I suggest two steps, i.e. formation of an Interim Democratic Coalition Government. After that, a formal new Government may be formed sooner or later. (This was suggested in my literature.)
5. Preparatory Committee of the People's Representatives' Congress and drafted Constitutional Law shall be discussed at the new PCC.
6. We should take a firm hold of the situation, and influence certain people not to fancy the third way, and not to feel doubt; otherwise some would not dare to go when the date and place are decided.
7. CHANG Tung-sun (張東蓀) of the Socialist Party, HUANG Yen-n'ei (黃彥埒) of the Cultural Circles and the CDL.

CHANG Wen (張文) (Note: EMERC.)

1. Date: After the reactionary force is overthrown by the People's force.
2. Place: To be convened after the liberation of Nanking.
3. Conveners: The number may be 133, but in order to appeal to others, we do not oppose the inclusion of a few more persons.
4. Representatives: They should be those from the democratic parties, and people's organisations.
5. Problems to be studied: Common platform. They (?) have much faith in the CCP. At present the enemy has not collapsed, so everything is in a preparatory stage. It is necessary to speed up the overthrow of X and occupation of areas now.

CH'EN Shao-hsien (陳劭先) (Note: EMERC)

1. Date: If it is advantageous, the earlier the better, since a motion cannot be correctly put forward if the conditions are not understood. It is expected that it will be convened in the beginning of the year, if no sudden change takes place, since much military development will be made after six months. We should be prepared to come with any sudden change. The CCP Central Committee shall still be the main body.
2. To be convoked in North China, either in Peiping or Sian, because Northeast and Northwest may be well provided for. Communication lines should be opened. There is no question about air raids, since it will be convened in the suburbs of a city. Wait until military developments made by the CCP, and it will not be necessary to wait until the capture of Central and South China.

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3. The CCP shall be the main body. But it is still better and more effectual in appeal if we are able to affiliate with a certain number of parties.

4. As regards representatives, I am in agreement with the view of old Mr. CH'EN Ch'i-yuan. If the PCC is not well convened, the future would be bad. It is a revolutionary PCC and conditions are to be discussed by us. The fundamental views should be similar; otherwise the result would be unsatisfactory. Suitable number of persons is required. Large number is unnecessary. The conception of representatives should be duties instead of rights.

5. Topics of discussion.

- (a) Common platform to be passed.
- (b) How to elect people's representatives in the future, and methods of convention.
- (c) I consider that is necessary to form an Interim Government.
- (d) It is not necessary to hold a representatives' congressional session hurriedly.
- (e) At present we should make preparations for the drafted Constitutional Law, which will be passed at the future People's Representatives' Congress session and handed to the formal Coalition Government. (Interim Government should be formed now.)

HOU Wai-lu (侯外廬) (Note: CGL)

1. There are details in each of the six problems, such as military, political, technique, etc. and if they are not decided, the suggestions regarding date and place will become empty talk. The situation will be developed after Double Tenth Day or before spring next year, the latest, when the military will enter a new phase. It may be convoked later if the time is not ripe.

2. Place: There are now only ten cities captured in North China. But Taiyuan, Kalgan and Tientsin are expected to be captured soon. North China should be taken into consideration.

3. How to convene it: The CCP should not decline to convene the conference. There is no question about affiliating with other parties in spite of their being accused of being the tail of a dog.

4. Representatives: In Hong Kong, a list of representatives may be put forward for discussion. Yen'an quarters should be consulted. They should be those from all classes. I am in favor of the conditions of old Mr. CH'EN Ch'i-yuan.

5. PCC platform (revolutionary) and principle of drafted Constitutional Law. The PCC may appeal for an external war. The constitutional law of Stalin was enacted after the stability of peace.

CH'EN Shao-hsien (陳少先): The Government in the Northeast is already a Coalition Government.

WU Mao-sun (吳茂孫) (Reported on behalf of FENG Yu-hsiang (馮玉祥))

1. FENG was very pleased with the May 1st appeal. All were much pleased with the meetings of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee.

2. FENG hoped that he may meet us before Double Tenth Day.

My own views:

- 1. The earlier the better. The American Authorities and those who are

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concerned about China are paying attention to the new PCC. We must not wait until the overthrow of CHIANG. I hope the CCP will consult with us to name a date - by New Year Day the latest.

2. A preparatory machinery is necessary. (At the place where the CCP Central Committee is situated, since the problem in question cannot be solved at dinner parties given in Hong Kong.)

CHIANG Yueh-mien (蔣 雲 飛) (Note: CDL)

1. Date: In fear that some changes may take place after receiving military blows (once or twice), CHIANG has influenced the so-called Middle Way personages to form a Political Consultative Council. Hence the sooner ours is convoked the better. But we have to encounter some difficulties and will be restricted by some conditions.

2. Place: Attention should be paid to productive power, apart from communication, effects of appeals and safety. I suggest that the place should be in Sian owing to the convenience of communication with the Internationale. Besides, coastal cities are easily surrounded by imperialists.

3. The CCP shall be the main body. It is better to invite other quarters to participate in it, and we are not afraid of being accused of Stalinism.

4. Participants: They should be representative and should possess the power of appeal. Whether or not strict measures should be taken, I suggest that attention be paid to the Three-point Opposition. Many people are in agreement with two of them, but not certainly with anti-imperialism, because they dread imperialists. It would take a long time for the PCC to form a coalition government. In order to unite with the Middle Way (Classes) extensively, more participants should be invited.

5. Discussion, platform and future Constitutional law: I am in agreement with the view of TENG. We should decide an outline before the convention. I am also in agreement with the view of WU - to set up a Preparatory Committee in the liberated area in order to decide who should participate in it and who should not.

The formation of an Interim Coalition Government should be decided according to the duration of war. If it is of long duration (2 or 3 years) it may be formed to lead the revolutionary war.

- (a) The more extensive the better, but not to excess. Representatives should be those who are in favor of the Three-point Opposition.
- (b) Preparatory machinery of the PCC of various parties to be set up by the CCP Central Committee.
- (c) Problem concerning Interim Coalition Government.
- (d) After defeating CHIANG Kai-shek.

CHANG Nai-hsi (章 乃 璽) (Note: Democratic Reconstruction Party)

1. Date: May be convoked if there is a suitable place. We should not wait until the unity of the whole nation is accomplished. Problem concerning place must be taken into consideration. It is quite good to convoke the conference in Hong Kong. However, we don't know how this would affect the situation. This is not ideal.

2. The Parties' Conference in North Korea and the ninth Plenary Session are all "refuse." However, they were more representative than certain advanced people. Hence it is better to have more representatives. It is expected that

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the new PCC will be able to show a new feature and extend the Democratic Movement. (Remark in red ink: Pay attention to study this.)

3. Particulars: Drafted Constitutional law, platform, methods of convening of the People's Representatives' Congress sessions and extension of the Democratic "battle array" should be decided by the parties at large.

4. The CCP has suggested that the Conference be convened by various quarters, but some say that it should be convened by the CCP. Either has its advantages.

5. The People's Representatives' Congress shall not be discussed until the convention of the new PCC.

CHOU Ching-wen (周鯨文) (Note: CDL)

1. My view is similar to Mr. CHANG's. Leading city (which must be symbolic) is preferable.

2. Various quarters shall undertake to convene the Conference.

3. Representatives: Large number of representatives is unnecessary.

4. Discussion: Views should be exchanged and self-assertion shunned. Views towards platform and many a social problem should be in concert. As regards the problem concerning troops, measures of adjustment and re-organization of troops shall be discussed, when the new phase comes. Interim Government shall be established.

5. The People's Representatives' Congress shall be discussed at the PCC.

6. (Supplemented) (Defeat CHIANG in 6 months.) I suggest that importance be attached to strategy in dissolving CHIANG, and all other problems may be simplified. How should we develop a political offensive?

Mrs. LIU (劉) (Note: Mrs. Herman LIU is also known as LIU WANG Li-ming (劉王立明)).

1. Date and place shall be decided objectively.

2. We should have new cognizance of the new PCC. Who shall convene the Conference? The CCP "stands on ceremony." It is better for all the parties to convene it, in view of the following advantages:

(a) Righteousness is observed by the CCP. It is important for the Democratic parties to start the Preparatory Committee, since the CCP and GDL have never separated from each other.

(b) Some people have a phobia for communism, so if we convene the conference in conjunction with the former, we may win the goodwill of the people.

(c) We shall be well-prepared to cope with international provocation.

3. What to do?

(a) The PCC should belong to parties. The People's Representatives' Congress may include more. (in agreement with CHANG's view). The CCP shall assist in electing representatives for a national organization.

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- (b) Bill: Military adjustment, diplomacy and politics.
- (c) In the past absolute government has been exercised by K. Is interim government necessary? If not, the PCC will maintain itself, and assist in the "absolute government" of the CCP. We oppose K in that it has refused to enforce the Five-point Resolution.

(Comment in red ink: worthy to be studied. She repeatedly mentions "assistance". Does she mean to say that the CCP should agree with their views when they say that their representatives are nationally representative and legal?)

TSENG Chao-lun (曾昭倫) (Note: CDL)

1. My view is somewhat similar to the above. It is safer to choose Peiping.
2. Coalition government may be formed after the convention of the PCC.
3. Particulars of the new PCC: Views should be exchanged, whether presidential system or cabinet system is to be adopted.
4. There is no question whether it is to be convened by the parties at large or by the CCP. But representatives should be reasonably elected.
5. Too many representatives are not advisable. The elements or organization will include representatives from all quarters. Will the new PCC attach importance to partisans or non-partisans? The words: "social dignitaries" are feudal. Why is it that there are millions of dignitaries, but only a few representatives? It is better to have them replaced by the words: "representatives of non-partisans". Do we want dignitaries who are partisans? We should be fair in making our choice.

HAN Chao-o (韓兆鄂)

1. Date: New Year's Day or Double Tenth if we can be sure.
2. Place: Yenan. Solemnity will affect conference. Not hazardous in communication in next year. It doesn't matter if it is a bit toilsome. If it should be convened quickly we may reach there after Sian is captured.
3. Extent of kindness: Those who were not anti-CHIANG until now are opportunists.
4. The CCP shall assume responsibility to convene the conference, even if it is not in its name.
5. Particulars (view same as that of others).
6. Interim coalition government advocated.

LIU Tsun-ch'i (劉樽祺) (Note: CDL)

1. The sooner the better.
2. Students shall be the pioneers. But there is no party representing students. I am in agreement with the view of Mr. TSENG. We should pay attention not only to those who take part in political activities superficially, but also to those who are representatives.

CHU Yun-shan (朱蘊山) (Note: SMC Old Comrades Y. A.)\*\*

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Act quickly. As a leading city, Taiyuan is not bad. Yen-an will do if preparation is made in time. Concerted platform of democratic parties during the time of democratic revolution should be attained at the PCC. Attention should be paid to the point that representatives should be "representative." I am not in favor of the formation of a government at the PCC. It is better if it is formed by the people's representatives.

CHEN Po-tsan ( 翁伯贊 )

We would have neglected "May 4th," should our views be based mainly on principles, but not on concrete facts.

1. It should be convoked immediately if necessary as it is difficult to decide a date. It should not be restricted to a large place, so long as it is a place of safety. It can be convoked a bit later when Nanking is attacked. Small place will do.

2. It doesn't matter if it is convened by the CCP so long as the parties at large receive equal treatment.

3. Persons to be accommodated. Upwards of 37 persons, but not to exceed 100. One-half of the seats will be occupied by representatives for parties, and the other half by representatives of other groups (including social dignitaries (25); representatives of industrial and commercial circles (25)). Social dignitaries are not unlike licorice (honey). Men of reputation will help when appeal is made. People's organizations admitted are only those who have offered their services to democracy, and do not oppose any of our parties. Industrial and commercial circles admitted are only those who have had workers' guilds, students' federations and women's and farmers' associations.

1. Public bodies should have had a history; and
2. Not be opposing democratic parties.

Social dignitaries are not confined to Hong Kong. They may be elected elsewhere.

Various parties should hold their own PCC meetings and elect representatives capable of representing their own parties as well as representatives to set up a Preparatory Committee. They should not be doubtful of freedom when the conference is convened in liberated area. Since it is a PCC, I am the first person who opposes social dignitaries.

(TSENG explained his misunderstanding of three words - meaning to say that he referred to "the Third Party" as "the Petty Party".)

CHANG ( 章 )

There may be more if convened in Hong Kong, but less if convened in Yen-an. It is expected that suggestions be put forward sincerely and no dispute should arise. Now we should not discuss about who may participate in the conference and who may not. We should not assume a negative attitude and prevent others from participating in it. (Comment in red ink: This counteracts CHEN's view.)

Mrs. LIU

The CCP, CIL and Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee shall act as joint promoters, and discuss about those who may be invited and who may not. Those who struggle against CHIANG openly may participate in the Conference. I strongly oppose social dignitaries. (Remark: Seat to be vacated.) KUO ( 郭 ) may join the Literary Federation.

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GHOU Hsin-min (周新民) (Note: CDL)

1. Place and date: It is inadvisable to fix them now. "May 4th is too late." It is best to convene before New Year's Day, date to be decided by the CCP (sic) according to circumstances.
2. The CCP, CDL and KMTRC shall be the promoters.
3. It is unsafe to convene in Hong Kong. Large number of people is unnecessary. Representatives should be elected from the many organizations of the people in liberated areas, and from the Students' Federation and Literary Association. There are 50,000 members of the Shanghai Women's Federation. Workers' Organizational Labor Association, university professors (CHANG Shih-jo (張實若)). One representative from Szechuan (.....). Those who have rendered us much assistance (.....). (Remark: Names of persons are not clear.)
4. PCC platform, drafted Constitutional Law and Law of Organization of the People's Representatives' General Meeting.
5. I am in agreement with the view of old Mr. WAN\*\*\* as regards the problem concerning interim government. It is not very sound to form a government by the minority. Representatives should be elected by more people.
6. Concerted views of various parties towards many problems should be sought first.

TAN Tung-ching (譚冬青) (Note: KMT -DPA) (sic)

1. Preparatory Committee shall be set up by representatives of various parties.

CH' IEN Chia-chu (千承駒) (Note: CDL -economic)

Some are of the opinion that in future the People's Representatives' Congress of North China and the Northeast Government will be formed into a joint Government of China, so no new PCC is necessary.

Should the Coalition Government be formed by the PCC or by the People's Representatives' Congress?

1. Place: Liberated area.
2. Date: May be convened after a larger part of North China is liberated.
3. Common political platform.
4. Parties participating should be in agreement with common platform.
5. Some suggest that it is to be convened by the three leading organizations. For convenience's sake it may be convened either by the CCP or local councils. This is not an important problem.

SUNG Yun-pin (宋雲彬) (Note: SMCI, Old Comrades Y. A. )\*\*

1. The sooner the better.
2. In liberated area, but not outside Shanhaikuan. It is not necessary to convene it in a leading city.
3. It is better to have it convened by the CCP instead of by the three parties jointly.

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4. The number of social dignitaries should be (less?) than that of representatives of various parties.

5. To discuss whether an interim coalition government is required.

LI Po-sh'in (廖伯球) (Note: CDL Third Party)

1. The PCC should be under the leadership of the proletariat.

2. Convention is a problem concerning technique.

3. Participating elements should be increased, not restricted to elements in Hong Kong.

4. Common Political Platform: Are Interim Coalition Government, People's Representatives' Congress and Common Election necessary?

5. Northwest.

6. Date to be decided according to state of military affairs. I am of the opinion that better result will be attained if the place is in North or Central China, say after six months, and before eight months.

7. The number of social dignitaries should be less than that of representatives of parties.

CH'EN Tz'u-sheng (陳此生) (Note: CDL)

1. Common Platform and how to re-construct a new nation.

2. Place: In liberated area.

3. There is no question for the PCC to convene the conference. But it is better if it is jointly convened by the parties at large.

4. Past history of struggles and offer made shall be the standard qualifications of participants. Decision should not be made by the CCP alone on who are allowed to participate and who are not.

5. Common election should be held in old and older areas, while in newly liberated areas, decision be made according to circumstances.

HSIAO Ch'uan-ying (蕭高英) (Note: SMC Old Comrades Y. A.)\*\*

1. Date: Early

2. Place: It should be at a place, which can be approached by representatives of various parties, and is controlled by the people's force.

3. There is no question for the CCP to lead and convene the conference. But some change may be made in order to make clear the connections among parties and the feelings of the people.

4. The number of social dignitaries should not exceed that of parties' representatives.

SHEN Chih-yuan (沈志遠) (Note: CDL)

1. The nature of the struggle has a bearing on the conveners and on the problem concerning date and place.

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2. Date shall be fixed according to the war situation in North China. There is no question about convening it within six months. Some are of the opinion that we would have a concept of peace if we convene it in Peiping, Tientsin or Nanking, and we would not understand the struggling characteristic of the new PCC.

3. Conveners: We should recognize CCP's leadership. Some dare not recognize this point. We don't know how they interpret it. The conference may be convened by the CCP through the requests made by various quarters and a new Democracy may be recognized in conformity with the ideas of various groups as well as with the principle of a united front.

4. New PCC will effect both internally and externally.

5. Some leniency should be extended under the principles of non-anti-communism and of recognizing the Three-point Opposition. The industrial and commercial circles in Shanghai who are in sympathy with the CCP are showing an increase in number, and people of all classes are undergoing change and progress. At present more propaganda should be spread.

6. We should discuss methods of ending reactionary rule, so we need the military government.

SHA Ch'ien-li (沙千里) (Note: CDL)

1. The new PCC is just in opposition to the old PCC. The latter was convened by CHIANG as he could not help doing so, while the CCP is holding it's conference on the eve of military victory.

2. More importance should be attached to people's organizations. Many people's organizations in liberated areas have offered more as compared with other groups. Hence representatives of people's organizations will be more important as compared with representatives of political parties. (Comment: This view is in contradiction of that of LI Po-ch'in.)

3. As regards conveners, attention should be paid to technique, i.e. whether conference shall be convened jointly or intrusted to someone else.

4. Problem concerning military adjustment, People's Representatives' Congress, drafted Constitutional Law and common political platform shall be discussed.

SUN Ch'i-meng (孫起孟) (Note: CDL)

1. How to examine social dignitaries and people's organizations. Among the social dignitaries of the old PCC a great many acted as very ugly characters.

2. A preparatory machinery shall be organized by the CCP and various groups to decide all other roles.

MEI Kung-nin (梅龔彬) (Note: KMTRC)

1. It is necessary to decide a date and place.

2. I am in agreement with the views of Mr. SUNG as regards the problem concerning the convention.

3. Representatives: As regards the problem concerning the ratio, the old Three-three System may be adopted, but the contents are different.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

4. Platform of the convention of the People's Representatives' Congress, problem concerning interim Coalition Government, and Principles of Constitutional Law:

- (a) New Democracy and its form in western Europe.
- (b) Problem concerning nationalization of military affairs; acknowledgment that troops belong to the people.
- (c) Development and socialization of production.
- (d) Removal of rural feudal relations.
- (e) Emphasis of the freedom of cultural life.
- (f) Problem concerning the Three-point Opposition.

SA K'uang-liao (薩空江) (Note: CCP?)

1. Convene quickly. The present PCC which is the real PCC is different from the former one.

2. It should be convened anywhere in the liberated area. It is not necessary to convene it in a leading city, but attention should be paid to safety.

3. As regards the problem concerning conveners, I am in agreement with the views of LIU WANG Li-ming (劉王立明) (Mrs. LIU), and I suggest that it shall be convened by the three leading organizations and enlarged.

4. The number of representatives should not be great, but representatives should be sent by every party, and even one would do if he or she is representative. Dignitaries should be represented.

5. People's Representatives' Congress should be urged and Coalition Government formed. Thus it is unnecessary to form an Interim Coalition Government.

LI Haiang-fu (李相符) (Note: CDL)

1. Convene early if possible.

2. Safety in communication should be taken into consideration by the CCP.

3. Outside elements should be admitted to some extent. Number of persons should be increased, so that appeal would be more effectual. Those who support the New Democracy may be embraced, and it is unnecessary for others to acknowledge a fixed political principle, CCP leadership and other concrete ideas, before they are admitted. Number of representatives varies according to the contribution made.

4. Particulars of Discussion: It is not a problem concerning nationalization of troops, but one concerning the way to consolidate and enlarge the people's troops. (Provisional Constitutional Laws and convention of the People's Representatives' Congress.)

YANG Po-kai (楊伯愷) (Note: CDL)

1. The sooner the better.

2. Place should be suitable. Attention should be paid to safety of communication. Not necessary to be in leading city. The CCP shall assume responsibility to make concrete decisions.

3. An Interim Government should be formed first, otherwise a long time would be required.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

A few problems concerning discussions about the new PCC.

1. Problem concerning stratagem, roles.
2. Problem concerning leadership, problem concerning enlargement of united front. Dissolution of CHILANG?
3. Problem concerning common platform, problem concerning particulars of the PCC.
4. Problem concerning necessity, or otherwise, of an Interim Coalition Government.
5. Problem concerning nationalization of troops.
6. Problem concerning technique.
7. Problem concerning representatives.
8. Problem concerning power of leadership. Practice or theory.

(Signed) LO Tzu-wei (羅子為), No. 124 Jaffe Road, 1st floor, and No. 50 Gloucester Road, 2nd floor.

25X1A6a. [REDACTED] Comment. Party affiliations and other notes of identification are given in parentheses after the names.

25X1A6a. \*\* [REDACTED] Comment. This is probably a reference to the San Min Chu I Comrades Association.

25X1A6a. \*\*\* [REDACTED] Comment. WAN may refer to CHU Yun-shan, whose name was given in the original translation as CHU Wan-shan.

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